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vessels of central Brazil], the boats of bark with which we are familiar in the extreme south of South America are veritable luxury barks, though they are still far behind those of the North American sea region with regard to beauty and careful workmanship." But the Indians of North America have incomparably more suitable raw material. In this description by Luschan, Figures 12 and 13 show one of the well-known small models which are erroneously captioned or described as "Model of a Bark Boat of the Ona."

Other observers also are unstinting in their praise of the bark canoe. Spears: 56 says: "It had a sheer at once pleasing to the eye and well adapted to ride the most tempestuous seas in the world" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):134 concludes his brief but detailed description thus: "These canoes, poor as they are, are certainly the most ingenious work of the inhabitants of Fuegia, but from Drake's time to ours, about 300 years, it has remained the same" /translated from Italian/. No improvement to speak of has been found necessary in any part and has, therefore, not been made.

equally skilled at canoe-making, but one who is able to achieve a faultless one is universally highly esteemed. What Despard (b): 679 has summed up in a few words is pertinent here: "The manufacture of a canoe is a most important work; on it chiefly depends their subsistence; to excel in it is a coveted distinction; to have effected it marks manhood; to accomplish it taxes strength, skill, and time" /cited in English/. This object, vitally important for our Indians, deserves to be described in detail. In doing so, we unintentionally grant them high praise for their skill (122). /440/

● [554]

122. It is strange that earlier travelers have repeatedly emphasized the graceful construction

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411 The Yamana has invented several missiles to overtake the various animals hunted, and each in its way is surprisingly efficient. He takes them along in his canoe whever he goes and places them, ready for use, in the bow section where they stick out far above the bow. The first thing he does when game approaches is to choose the weapon suitable for it; afterwards he seizes whatever is nearest at hand, so as not to lose the booty. Aspinall:270 maintains "[the man in the canoe] three kinds of such spears with him." There are at least that many, and two or three of each kind. It is clear that the two-barbed javelin and the bird-spear with the serrated bone point have a variety of uses.

411 Every adult is capable of making and repairing
483 these weapons; they are indispensable to him for his livelihood. Not everyone, however, succeeds in
437 cutting out an even shaft from the main trunk of the
554 beech; individual men attain true mastery at this. That is why many a man will trade a good shaft for other things that he needs. Everyone always has a supply of loose points which he keeps in a longish leather pouch, yānúku. Those few men who are able to make a perfectly shaped large harpoon point are
411 universally praised (186). In conclusion it should be

186. Descriptions of these missiles are to be found in Bove (c):132, Cojazzi:109, Dabbene (b):184, Hyades (h):23 and (q):302, 353, Lothrop (b):148, Martial:191, Spegazzini (a):163, Spencer:133, Weddell (a):94, and others.

Fig. 37.
Fish Spear.

/778 cont./

619 554 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

211. This means, as Hyades (p):335 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, castes, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have some duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privileges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /779/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[197] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

594 602 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).

213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

/784 cont./

612 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he
571 happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more
612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi-
571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo-
554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):698 refers to this as follows:

/802 cont./

622 single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the kemál of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

692 627 Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinsfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34; 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /803/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

554 888 Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (235). Thus

235. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

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888

acquired gradually by age, sagacity, and daring conduct" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 later supplemented this: "They definitely recognize superiority in morality and intelligence, but this superiority is admitted only within a small circle of friends and does not give rise to domination, which would be neither coveted nor supported by anyone" /translated from French/.

a tiámuna, as he is called, does not occupy a position like that of the kemál of the Selk'nam who is the man of authority for all who belong to the same, definitely circumscribed local group. Nevertheless, the members of a wider circle of kinsfolk listen to the word of their tiámuna, submit to his instructions, bow to his judgment, and even accept his warnings. Like a sincere friend of his immediate family and like a venerable patriarch in a larger circle, he guides and leads by means of good words all those who willingly yield to his influence or could not easily avoid it. He is a conscientious promoter of the old order and a steadfast champion of the good customs of former times. The mere example he sets is stronger than his words. He makes his opinion known with careful consideration and with the best intentions for the welfare of the individual as well as the harmony of the group as a whole, without assuming sovereign rights nor curtailing anyone's personal freedom.

The veneration universally shown to aged, model persons does not make it difficult for anyone to yield to the judgment or the instruction of the tiámuna in an individual case (236). Actually

236. Agreeing with several other observers, Hyades (g):35 assures us that "the old men enjoy great influence and a kind of veneration.

no one strives for this privileged position, nor is it hereditary. It is their trust in him that makes several younger people or an entire circle of kinsfolk submit to a particular elder as though he were their uncrowned headman.

/803 cont./

554 571 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 881 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony, the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 626 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

/804 cont./
183 and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously
636 help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly.
554 A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands
577 on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so.
156 Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

/885 cont./

unified order, if he functions in close alliance with his countrymen and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every uśwʃala is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years, usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Sometimes one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as uśwʃala kinána, is always an estimable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in valiant manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not fear that he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he offers them. They have an effect on the uśwʃala that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

His words flow with the deepest seriousness and out of innermost conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation on one afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at rest as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/886 cont./

X 881 867 one that the adults aim to achieve in the čiexaus hut with the uswala are identical. The rules of conduct that are set up in the two situations likewise coincide. The immature child is told briefly and definitely what he must do and must not do; he is won over by well-meaning persuasion to do his duty. It is different with the candidates in the /887/ initiation who are offered rational arguments and are made to realize the consequences of their actions, for they are supposed to act out of conviction. Of the principles frequently mentioned we shall here mention only the more important ones; furthermore, certain standards for judging the conduct of the individual will be set forth.

X 881 867 156 554 Remarkably often the exhortations, whether they come from the teacher or from another person, point to personal honor. The following allusion is repeated again and again, almost word for word: "People will commend you and say you are a good human being!" Indeed, the sense of honor is highly developed among our Yamana. Anyone who touches them here strikes their most sensitive point. Hence everyone makes a serious effort to acquire a good reputation and undoubtedly performs some good deed only in order to be thought of as honorable and blameless. Many a person will make a considerable sacrifice, remain silent during a verbal battle between others, forgo eating in spite of hunger, give away a valuable object, perform work for an aged man whom he dislikes very much, and do many other things merely so that he will be generally regarded as a paragon. To be the object of sad reproaches would humiliate any one of them to such an extent that he would avoid contact with those who knew about it perhaps for a period of years and even live alone in obscure retreats. There is a danger here that the conduct of the individual may turn to duplicity and hypocrisy. The way of life, however, counteracts this effectively, for neither falsehood nor deceit can permanently hide behind its simplicity and transparency.

X 881 867 626 761 Closely allied to this is the explicit reference to the considerable and evident punishment that, according to the belief of these Indians, the Supreme Being inflicts upon a guilty person. Specifically they mention a long illness and, even more frequently, premature death. A person who wants to avoid the latter or who does not want to be punished by the loss of his

/1386 cont./

Y156 462 adds that he happened to meet an old woman who is yakamouch" /translated from French/.

in former times nor today has a woman operated quite independently in this field or appeared in public with the feather ornament reserved for all full-fledged yékamuŕ. Some people, however, really believe that a woman whose attitude arouses suspicion is capable and evil enough to cause harm and sickness to come to her opponents, like the medicine men. The people suspect such a woman and call her a yékamuŕ only if she exerts such influences. She does not go beyond that. Thus her ability is nowhere near as extensive as that of a /1387/ full-fledged medicine man. In general these are isolated cases of aged women who are not well liked and are avoided by their neighbors on account of their unpleasant dispositions and disagreeable character. In view of this it is not strange that they are the very ones who are considered capable of working with secret powers and of maliciously inflicting some kind of harm on other people.

Y156 554 The Yamana without exception believe in the ability of their medicine men and are convinced of their power. This faith is most clearly demonstrated by everyone's attitude of awe and genuine fear toward the yékamuŕ, by the trust the individual shows when he approaches the yékamuŕ with his requests, and finally by the confidence with which the general public expects help from him for major and minor needs. In his extreme helplessness, many a Yamana has only the medicine man as a last resource. It is true that the people recognize greater or lesser ability in their yékamuŕ and they probably also deprecate the good reputation of one or another of them, making him out to be weak and incapable. Nevertheless everyone fears them, and a person must expect their revenge if they hear of his expressing disdainful opinions of them. Bridges repeatedly begged the Yamana: "Do not believe what your yékamuŕ say and do, for their deeds and their behavior are crafty deceptions! Do not believe the cunningly calculated nonsense that they use to trick you!" As a matter of fact, he expressed himself so scornfully

/1387 cont./
about their effectiveness that it was bound to shock everyone, especially the medicine men. After biding their time, two of the insulted yékamuĭ decided to avenge the slander cast upon their calling, and said: "We shall have our revenge! Perhaps we shall succeed in inflicting real harm on that European (320)!"

320. They are here expressing doubt as to whether their ability can reach beyond their own countrymen and affect a European stranger.

Then each of them hurled a yékuĭ which supposedly hit Bridges and penetrated deep into his abdomen. From that time on Bridges was ill, and to the end of his life he complained of a severe abdominal ailment. All the Yamana are convinced that his illness was inflicted by those two yékamuĭ, named Kalasakum and Kalakein; they had met in Lapataia and from there they hurled their yékuĭ against Bridges who was living in Ushuaia. The people also told me: "The moment the two yékuĭ entered his belly he felt violent pain; he immediately realized the actual cause and cried: 'Ah, woe is me! I made fun of the yékamuĭ, that is why they have avenged themselves on me. Now I know that they have great power!' Although Bridges twice traveled far away [to Buenos Aires], he never got rid of that complaint. Those two yékamuĭ really wanted to make him feel their revenge for the rest of his life." This incident was repeated to me several times, /1388/ in order that I, too, should be convinced of the superior accomplishments and the successful operations of the yékamuĭ (321).

321. In February, 1878, Bridges (I):18 declared: "The natives, strange as it may seem, had great faith in these doctors' alleged powers and entertained some fear of them" /cited in English/. He himself is convincing counterevidence for the incorrectness of the following assertion: "But this state of things has long

/1388 cont./

since passed away, there are no more doctors" /cited in English/. Boye (e): 158 depends altogether on Bridges' words when he declares: "In the Ushuaia Mission the Jakumunch are already so ashamed of their trade that they go out only at night and practice their trade without fanfare, without song and without any kind of noise." The medicine men of the Yamana are as extensively active today as formerly: I need say no more about this.

My informants quite frankly expressed their conviction that the yékamuf, broadly speaking, were formerly cleverer and more skilled in their arts. Present-day medicine men do not deny such assertions; they admit their inferiority in comparison with their predecessors without getting excited about it and excuse themselves by saying that they personally did not have the services of the really great masters. When I asked the men why they lacked capable yékamuf at the present time, I received a characteristic answer: "It is because of the abundant and good [nourishing] food that the Europeans eat and that we, too, have now learned to prefer. It makes body and spirit heavy, our dreams are no longer so vivid. In former times the yékamuf did not take any nourishment until noon and were satisfied with two or three mussels a day when they wanted to heal a sick person or drive out an evil spirit or question their guardian spirits in a dream. They did not know about wine or tea or coffee, whereas now we often drink these things. Those capable yékamuf of former days were content with a few drops of water; at night they permitted themselves only a short period of rest and took this in a squatting position. The yékamuf of the present time have abandoned all that."

In order to illustrate the competence of the earlier yékamuf, Nelly Lawrence told me the following story which she had heard from her aunt Flora. Among Flora's relatives were two yékamuf who must be regarded as the most capable of all time. Once the people in the west were in great distress, for they were unable to hunt sea lions or gather mussels for a long time because of bad

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FISH-NET

227 At certain seasons of the year Beagle channel is infested by small sardine-like fish which the Yahgan captured in dip-nets (*chimunák*) woven of grass. A rather poorly-made example of these is shown in fig. 89. It will be noted that there is a light wooden frame enclosed by parallel stems of grass tied to the members of the frame. This was lashed to the end of a pole and with it the fish were dipped out. A model of this implement appears in the bow of the canoe in fig. 73.

FIG. 89.—Yahgan dip-net. Height, 12 in. (14/2321)

FISH-WEIRS

According to Hyades (1891, p. 372) the Yahgan sometimes erected in suitable places fish-weirs consisting of a row of stakes. Of these I saw no trace in Tierra del Fuego.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

594 Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit. However, related families usually paddled their canoes in couples, as the skin housetop was heavy for a single canoe, and they divided the common roof into two parts, of which each carried one. While the Yahgan were rovers, they usually stayed regularly in one district, where most of the people were their relatives.

622 All observers of the Yahgan comment on their lack of leadership. 559 Medicine-men asserted a certain authority through the fear they inspired, but at times they were roughly handled, so their power was in no wise secure. As no communal enterprises were undertaken, there existed no need for chiefs.